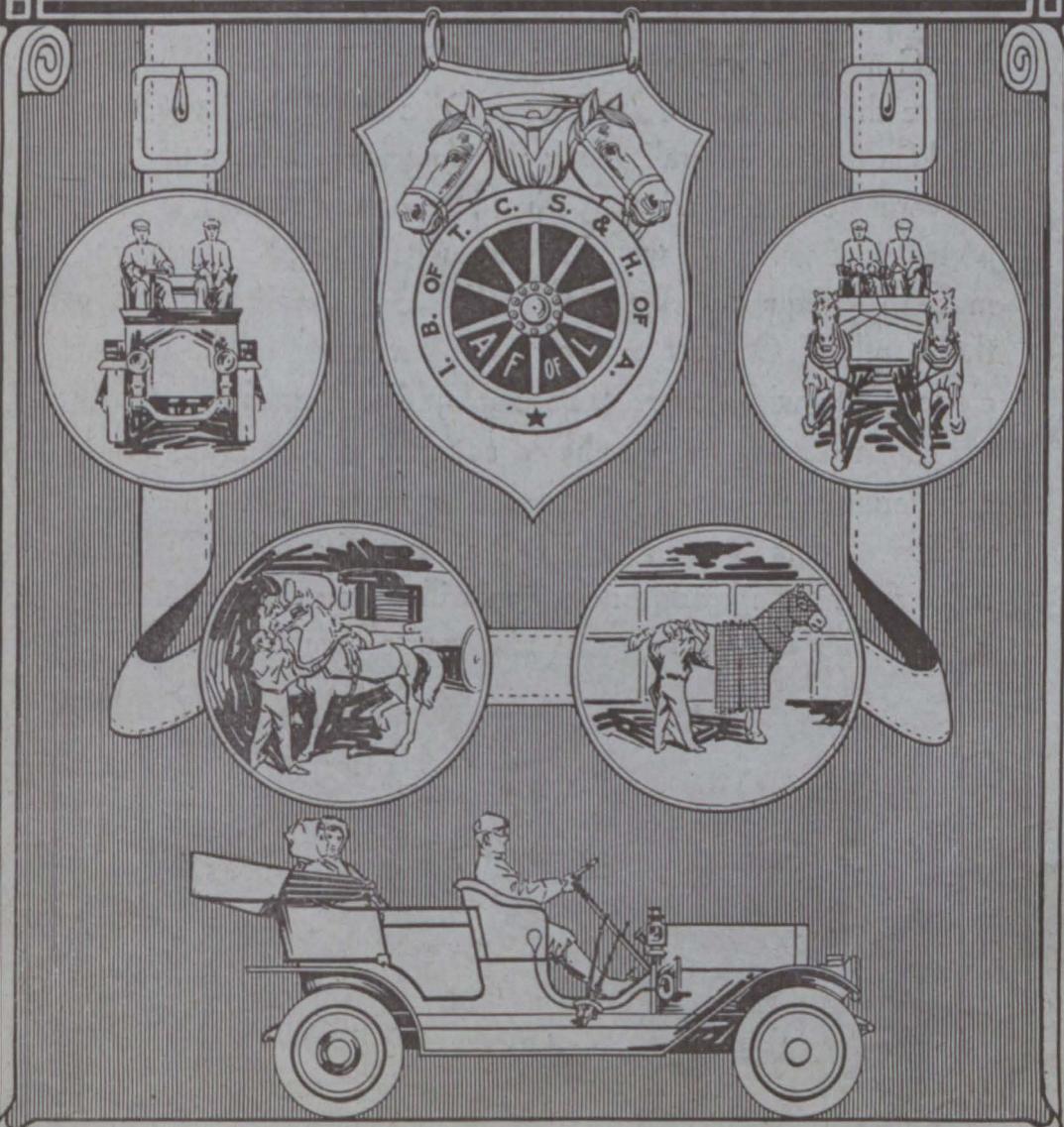


OCTOBER, 1915

THE OFFICIAL MAGAZINE OF  
INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD  
TEAMSTERS · CHAUFFEURS  
STABLEMEN AND HELPERS  
OF AMERICA



## SPECIAL NOTICE

Our Convention will be in session in San Francisco when you receive this Journal. The General Officers will be away from headquarters for several weeks; therefore we will have to delay answering communications, perhaps, especially if they are important matters. We would like to suggest that all unions try to make their requests to the general office as few as possible during the month of October and part of November. The regular clerical help will, however, be employed in the office and your per capita tax must be purchased as usual, and all matters such as ordering supplies will be attended to promptly. As this convention of ours is being held in San Francisco, two thousand miles away from headquarters, you will realize the impossibility of our giving immediate attention to your communication.

— OFFICIAL MAGAZINE —  
**INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD  
OF TEAMSTERS·CHAUFFEURS  
·STABLEMEN AND HELPERS·**



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READ AND REFLECT

Governor Ferguson, of Texas, during his Labor Day address at Dallas, made the following statement:

"Labor must organize. Let me plead with every man who earns his living by honest toil to join some union. You can be just as honest outside of a union, but you will accomplish nothing by yourself. If you have more sense or influence, you ought to join the union and give your fellow-men the benefit of your talent. If you have less sense than the average, come in and let the union help you."

This splendid expression, coming from a man who never belonged to a labor union in his life—the highest man, practically, in the great State of Texas—should mean something to the average working man. Today all educated, intelligent men agree that there is no salvation for the working class except through organization, and the non-union man or the fellow who stays outside of his union is holding back the progress of his fellowmen and is oftentimes doing more to injure us than the unjust employer.

The greatest force for the betterment of the worker's condition lies in the worker himself. Not by independent effort, but by uniting with his fellow worker and presenting a solid front.

# EDITORIAL

## REPORT OF THE GENERAL PRESIDENT TO THE SAN FRANCISCO CONVENTION, OCTOBER 4, 1915

In accordance with the custom established by our organization since its inception, I submit herewith, to the delegates to this convention, my report, dealing as briefly as possible with the many important matters that have confronted our organization since our last convention, held in the city of Indianapolis, in October, 1912.

The period since our last convention, without any exaggeration, has been the most trying period in the history of our International Union. All of our local unions have encountered considerable difficulty within the last two or three years owing to the industrial depression existing. Many of the International Unions have had all they could do to hold the conditions they have obtained for their membership without endeavoring to obtain further increases in wages or betterment of conditions. This was due, perhaps, to more than one reason. The depression existing throughout the country in 1913 might have been due somewhat to the change in our national political administration. Those acquainted with conditions in business centers know that whenever the party now in power goes into office that there is a tendency on the part of business interests to hold back new enterprises, to refrain as much as possible from further investments, and to cause as much distrust and discontent throughout the country as can safely be caused toward the new political administration. So that 1913, the first year after our last convention, a general unsettled condition existed throughout the nation. We were just getting over this condition in 1914 when this disastrous conflagration in Europe came to a head, resulting in practically paralyzing not only the business in Europe, but the entire business of our own country for the last fourteen months.

These are matters upon which you are well informed. I merely wish to remind you of these things so that with me you can realize, if possible, what organized labor, and especially our own International Union, has undergone during the last two or three years. The splendid result of the whole affair has been this, and you want to give this your serious thought, that there has not been one International Union on this continent that has been forced out of business, or out of existence, while as a result of the general paralysis of the business world, resulting from the closing of the stock markets of the World, and especially in our own country, many old-time, splendid business institutions have been driven to the wall. There was a time last year during the winter months and early this year when some of the largest and most influential business houses in our country were tottering and ready to fall. Many of them did go under, pulling down with them the individuals dependent upon them for existence. Our own organization, in which you are specially interested, not only held its own during these trying times, but has gone ahead. Impossible as it may seem to understand, we have been climbing upward, numerically and financially, even beyond the expectations of our friends and well-wishers.

At the close of our last convention we had a membership of about forty thousand. For the month of August, just past, we received per

capita tax on 56,308, the highest per capita tax ever received in the history of the International Union, including the months immediately after the amalgamation. These figures are taken from the books of our organization and can not be disputed.

We have chartered several local unions during the past three years; also a great many charters have been surrendered. To us at Headquarters, and to our organizers working in the field, this is nothing new. Unions spring up over night, but because of improper preparation and lack of thorough organization they go out of business inside of two or three months.

The main cause of unions going out of business is because they insist immediately upon securing a change in their working conditions. This, on the part of the individual member, is only natural because he does not know any better, but it is to be regretted that labor leaders in a district where such a condition could be prevented do not exercise more power or more influence over newly organized unions and thus prevent their going on strike until they have at least been members of the International organization for one year, and then only when they have not less than 85 per cent. of the men in the district working at their craft in their union.

#### STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS.

It has been my aim and purpose not only during the last three years but during the whole time that I have been an officer of our International Union to prevent strikes wherever possible. I believe that the labor movement will some day reach the point where strikes must be avoided. Do not misunderstand me. I do not favor anything like compulsory arbitration, but I do say that in my experience, and I believe that I know the labor movement in this country, its officers and members, as well as any other individual officer, that the labor movement will have to develop a certain kind of leadership—leaders who are not too anxious to rush prematurely, or on the spur of the moment, into a strike that very often means disaster not only for the particular union involved, but also for many of the other unions in the district. There is nothing to the question of strikes and lockouts but education. Again do not misunderstand me, when I say that I am positive that some of the great strikes that have taken place in our country could have been prevented if the proper course was pursued by those having such affairs in hand. I know as well as you do, and perhaps better, that we have been forced to strike. In many instances, we could not avoid a strike. This is true particularly in one or two cases that confronted our International Union since our last convention. The strike in Seattle in Local No. 174, could not be avoided. The members were forced to strike. The employers' association was determined to make a fight on organized labor and availed themselves of the opportunity by attacking our union first. Vice-President Casey had charge of the affair, representing the International Union. Our International Union did everything within its power in so far as financing the fight was concerned; also toward helping the local union to a successful ending of the strike, and while it cost us some money, it was an affair that we could not escape, and I am positive in saying that it had a tendency toward offsetting a large strike contemplated by the manufacturers' association in that north-western country. There were many strange features attached to the

strike in Seattle. Several times when we thought we had reached a settlement and when we had the promise of the employers as to a settlement, after leaving us they would break their promises and the strike had to continue. Injunctions were sought against our union and everything else they could do to injure us was done. The usual mode of procedure on the part of the employers was pursued. As stated above, I believe the fight had to come and while we lost in wages as a result of non-employment we have made a condition by which, I think I am safe in saying, it will be many years before our Local No. 174 has to fight again for the right of the men working at that craft to belong to the union. I think we were successful in the fight.

Our strike in Stockton, which might better be called a lockout, was almost a repetition of what happened in Seattle. Vice-President Casey also had charge of this strike, and while it did not end up as well as we would wish to have it end, still we maintained our union, and I think that the cloud of discontent on the part of the employers that existed there and the army of labor union "busters" have passed away indefinitely.

I merely mention these two strikes in order to show you that sometimes we are forced to fight. In June, 1913, in the city of Cincinnati, our organization was forced into a strike. The men were newly organized. The International could pay no strike benefits, in accordance with the constitution, as we did in Seattle and Stockton and several other places, but we sent our organizer in there to help Local Union No. 100 in every way that we could, and also to help Local No. 105, the ice wagon drivers, who were also on strike. These locals made history in the strike in Cincinnati, and they obtained conditions. It was a desperate affair and although the men were but newly organized, they stood together loyally, shoulder to shoulder in the fight. It has never been my pleasure to witness in any place such faithful adherence to the principles of trade unionism and such loyalty to one another.

On Friday, August 13, about four hundred of the membership of Local No. 600, Truck Drivers of St. Louis, and about two hundred members of Local No. 729, East St. Louis, were forced on strike in order that they might obtain better working conditions. Their agreement with their employers expired and the employers refused to do anything except sign the old agreement for the next two years. The men believed they were entitled to some improvement in conditions, but were unwilling to cause any trouble if it could be avoided, and therefore offered to submit the entire matter to arbitration. The employers refused to arbitrate, so there was no other alternative except for the men to strike. When employers refuse to arbitrate, what can you do? They find fault with unions, claiming them unreasonable, yet presumably intelligent employers are often unable to see things right. The unions voted almost unanimously to go on strike unless the employers changed their position. The St. Louis joint council endorsed the strike and the General Executive Board endorsed the strike. Employers still refused to consider arbitration and the strike started on the morning of the 13th of August. Many of the large business houses were seriously affected immediately. The committee in charge of the strike decided to pull one or two firms at a time. The Team Owners' Association, at their meeting, voted to do the work of the struck firms. As soon as they ordered their men on the struck jobs, the men at once quit work, as per instructions of their union, and after one or two of the firms had their men

quit this ended the ordering of men to do strike-bound work. I sent Organizer Gillespie into St. Louis to assist the local officers. He got there Saturday evening, August 14, and on Monday morning a settlement was reached, the men getting an increase in wages and a reduction in working hours, all men returning to work at once, and now everybody is happy again. It looked awfully bad for business for a while in St. Louis. We expected that the strike would involve every teamster and chauffeur in that city, who was a member of our unions, because the International and locals were determined to fight it to a finish on account of the unreasonable stand taken by the employers. We are glad that it ended as it did. The General Office was in touch continually with Vice-President Murphy while the matter lasted and advised him what to do and how to proceed, so there was no misunderstanding and we knew that if it did cost a large sum of money that it would be money well spent, and could not be avoided. The whole matter can be explained in a few words—in St. Louis and East St. Louis, we have splendid, almost perfect, organizations; men who are real union men, who want no strike or trouble, but who, if you drive them into it, will fight until they drop dead, if necessary. What a healthy, wonderful change. A few years ago we had hardly anybody in St. Louis. St. Clair controlled the district and betrayed the men and the International, but we got rid of him, as we have others who were wrong, and the condition there today speaks for itself.

I think in summing things up, that in the last three years we have had fewer strikes than for any previous three years in the history of our International Union, and this, to my mind is encouraging when you take into consideration the fact that not only are we still a new organization, but we have to deal with a new class of employers, who are not the same as other employers, who have been in the habit of dealing with representatives of unions for years, and for that reason I think our officers and our unions deserve all the more credit because they have been successful in many localities in bettering the conditions of their membership without having recourse to a strike. I could mention several other strikes, but as I have referred to them in the Journal, I consider it unnecessary for me here in this report to take up the time of the convention by again referring to them in detail.

What I want to impress upon the minds of our membership is this—that several times during the past three years things looked very serious for us, the clouds hovered very heavily over me, and we came within a hair's breadth of having many serious situations, but through the good judgment of the men in charge of the district and the membership of the local unions, we emerged triumphantly out of those dark situations. Especially is this true in the case of the packing house teamsters in 1913 and the milk wagon drivers' union of Chicago, this year. Also the case of Local No. 600 of St. Louis, and many other instances, not forgetting the case of Local No. 25 of Boston, where the organization had voted to go on strike and the strike was endorsed by the International, when a settlement was reached with the employers, proving to my mind that even though we are only fifteen years old, we have developed a system that has brought about gratifying results and has won the admiration of the wisest and ablest leaders in the labor movement.

I have no right to criticise any other organization. I am not going to mention any particular organization, but I feel as though I would be

remiss in my duty unless, when occasions present themselves, I did not express myself for the education of our own membership. I think I am safe in saying that for every strike forced on organized labor by employers, there is a strike brought about because of poor judgment on the part of trade unions and the officers of trade unions that could have been avoided had the proper course been pursued. Sometimes employers are hoodwinked into joining or becoming members of the employers' association. Sometimes those employers are forced to refuse to sign an agreement. However, after dealing with the men whom they have found to be honest, who had been represented to them by the enemies of organized labor as anything but honest, they are willing to grant the conditions requested, but insinuate that they can not sign an agreement. The hair-brained, so-called leaders, insisting upon the last ounce of flesh, pull out the workingmen on strike simply on account of the signing of an agreement, which, after all, amounts to nothing unless the employer has honor enough to live up to its clauses. Disaster results. Even if victory resulted it is a loss. This is one instance where common sense, had it prevailed, the conflict might have been avoided. However, I am thankful and grateful for the conditions prevailing in our organization and for the material advancement we have made in reference to dealing with wage scales within the last three years. As stated above, it is merely a matter of education for the membership and for the employers.

#### THE JOURNAL.

As editor of your official Journal for the past three years, I have given it as much of my personal attention as it was possible for me to give it and still attend to the other duties surrounding my office. I think I am not at all egotistical when I make the statement that I believe that our Journal contains as much editorial matter as the publication of any other labor union in the country. We have sixteen pages and the inside of two covers, every inch of which we utilize. The Journal means a great deal to the International organization, much more than the average member really understands. When I took office eight years ago, we were mailing about nineteen thousand copies of the Journal to our membership. Today we are mailing thirty-seven thousand copies to the homes of our individual membership. Many of the labor organizations mail their Journal out in bulk form only to the office of the local union and they lay there in the same condition in which they are received month after month, but when the Journal is mailed to the home address of the individual, some of whom may be living in isolated districts, who perhaps never read any other publication, it is the only medium of education within that household, and not only does the member himself read it, but it is also read by the son or daughter, or the wife of the member living in that humble home month after month, and I think it has more to do toward keeping up our membership and keeping the men in line than perhaps anything else in our organization. I trust this convention will make some provision toward changing the present condition of the Journal. I am sure it would pay us to increase its size from sixteen pages to thirty-two pages, but should it be increased, we could not, on our present revenue, afford to send it out free of all charges to our membership. There has been a material increase in the cost of production as well as in the volume of the Journal over what it cost eight years ago when I took charge of the office. We are using strictly union paper,

which I am sorry to say is an inferior grade and costs us almost twice as much as we formerly paid, but in order to patronize and help out another sister international union we are using nothing but strictly union paper in the production of our Journal. Labor has also increased in the cost of production, and for a long time we were threatened with an increase in postal rates. In order to give us more space, I have eliminated entirely the advertising. In October, 1907, my first issue of the Journal, the cost of same was a little less than \$350.00. The Journal for the month of August, this year, cost us for printing, publishing, mailing, postage and labor, \$650.00. It has doubled in cost of production. This increase has taken place in spite of the fact that I have tried to keep down the expense as much as possible and still live within the constitution, so much so that not even one dollar has been paid for any contributed article or for written matter of any kind during these eight years, while nearly every Journal of any importance that I know of pays for contributed writings and charges a small sum to their membership for the Journal, and besides, they accept advertising. I do not believe in the advertising game in a labor journal. I cannot understand the wisdom of a large international union selling space to advertise a product that perhaps was made by non-union help; selling out the good-will of the Journal for a few dollars when the space could be utilized for the education of the membership. I had in mind that this convention might see its way clear to recommend the payment of a special assessment of about 5 cents or 3 cents a month by local unions, to be paid semi-annually, to maintain and support the Journal, same to be collected from the membership receiving the Journal. By doing this you would be able not only to abolish this seven thousand dollars a year expense now paid out for the Journal, but you would be able to increase the size of your Journal, which would have a still greater tendency toward educating our membership, doing more work than the organizers, in many instances, and perhaps be able to pay for an assistant editor in the office. Because I do not hesitate in saying to you, that with the growing membership of our organization; that with the technical questions continually arising in our union and the many places that demand the attention of the General President, besides attending to by-laws of local unions and the correspondence coming into this office, that no matter who is President that it is impossible for him to give the necessary continual attention to the editorial matter that should appear in the official monthly magazine. I am not, on my part, objecting, but I have no fear of telling the truth. Were I to work for any other employer, and when I drove a team I did not hesitate to tell my employer then, and I do not hesitate to tell him now, that all that any man can do is his best, and if you expect him to do three or four things in the office of General President, you are asking too much—not for me, but for whoever is head of your organization in years to come.

#### INDEPENDENT AND DUAL ORGANIZATION.

If there is anything worse or a greater curse that can confront a labor organization than the seceding, independent or dual organization, I do not know of it. This has been said many times before, but it should be reiterated and impressed, if possible, more forcibly upon the minds of our membership. Since our last convention we have had one secession movement, namely, in the State of New Jersey, where they formed

a State or independent organization for no reason whatever except for a supposed or imaginary grievance. The leaders went so far as to attempt to enjoin us from collecting dues or per capita tax in the State of New Jersey. When I talked the matter over with the representatives in the Joint Council meeting in Jersey City, one of their principal grievances was that some of their representatives who attended the convention at Indianapolis were not given proper recognition by the chair. Of course I was able to deny and prove that this was not true, because it has always been my object, not only in that convention but in every convention over which I have presided, to treat all delegates alike and with courtesy and respect. However, we defended our International Union in the courts in New Jersey and were successful in defeating the application of the independents, and shortly afterwards, as always happens to institutions of this kind, it went out of existence, and the unions in question, or most of them, became affiliated with our International again. The independent union in Chicago is still maintained and in existence. It has, however, confined its efforts entirely to Chicago; it has been successful in obtaining conditions for its membership, and while nothing has been done toward bringing back the unions in Chicago that are outside of the International, because of the fact that the individuals expelled by our organization are still held in membership, still I have endeavored to establish peace between that independent union and our organization as much as possible within the past two years, and today I am pleased to say that, although there are two organizations there, no conflict of a serious nature exists. The organizations get along as well as could be expected, and as the matter is liable to come up in this convention later on, I will refrain from saying anything further at this time lest I might prejudice the delegates in their judgment in dealing with the case.

#### FINANCES OF THE INTERNATIONAL.

It is the duty of an officer, whether an officer of the local or the International, to recommend to his constituency that which he thinks is best. The great trouble today with local officers and International officers is that many of them are afraid of making enemies and they want to go along with the majority and do the things that are pleasant in order to refrain from making enemies. I have in mind many instances in our International Union where local officers, because they did not have backbone enough to disagree with the howling majority, allowed their union to take a step that meant disaster for the organization. I know of international unions that have allowed districts to dominate and dictate to the international office, and the districts have done just about as they pleased, simply because the international officers were afraid of making enemies in the district. No man is worth his salary, and he cannot be called a true trade unionist, especially if he is an officer, unless he tries to advocate that which he thinks is best and right, no matter if he stands alone on the proposition.

In our last convention I recommended an increase in per capita tax. The convention did not deem it advisable at that time to act in the affirmative. Many of the men representing influential districts, some of whom are present here, believed it was best not to act in the affirmative, but practically agreed that at the next convention, which means this one, that something should or would be done. Now do not misun-

derstand me. Whether or not the majority of you present agree with my suggestions or not means nothing whatever to me personally; no matter who your officer is, it means this to him, that he knows, if he knows his business at all, that this International Union cannot survive as it is today. We are today, apparently, to those on the outside and to the average membership, a strong International Union, but to us on the inside, who realize the danger to our organization with the proper force directed against it by the employing class, know that we are not in a position to maintain conditions or to better conditions. In truth there are a few large local unions who voluntarily subscribe to the International Office, or perhaps a certain district that could take care of themselves for a short time, but many of our local unions would go out of existence immediately were the International Union to disband, and you are foolish and absolutely unreasonable if you think you can maintain in affiliation year after year those local unions, offering them nothing but strike benefits if they become involved in a legitimate strike. No institution can be run without money, and until you center in the General Headquarters something that will attract and maintain the respect and admiration of the membership throughout the country, as has been done by other international unions, you will never be able to hold, without secession or turmoil, the unions that are even now affiliated with the International organization. To my knowledge alone we have had no less than a half-dozen secession movements, sometimes two or three at a time. Of course this is due entirely to the fact that our membership—and we cannot blame them very much—do not understand the real situation.

In 1901, in the Chicago convention of the Team Drivers' International Union, a 25-cent per capita tax was established. This was reaffirmed and continued in the Toledo convention of the Team Drivers' International Union, that body being the parent body, or predecessor, of this organization. This 25-cent tax remained in operation and was paid willingly by the local unions until the amalgamation convention, held in Niagara Falls in 1903, where it was reduced to 15 cents. Some few men who are here, who were members of our International Union at that time, may offer as an argument that as a result of raising the per capita tax in the Chicago convention in 1901, caused the establishment of the dual organization which took place, or that this was the cause of the inception of the National Teamsters' organization of Chicago. This is not the truth, but the raising of the per capita tax was used as an excuse at that time, but it was not the real source of the trouble. The real cause of the trouble, or the establishment of the National Teamsters' organization, was because of the fact that the convention refused to elect as a delegate to the American Federation of Labor convention a certain individual who was then an officer of the coal teamsters' organization and who has since passed away. In other words, because of dissatisfaction arising over one individual, a secession movement was formed. The raising of the per capita tax was endorsed by nearly every local union then chartered by the Team Drivers' International Union, and when the amalgamation convention decided to reduce the tax to 15 cents, it was a step backward. After being organized fifteen or sixteen years, instead of lowering our per capita tax, we should have built it up, and it seems to me that it is pretty nearly time for you men who are the leaders in your district and who are present here to do something toward perpetuating this International organiza-

tion. The best proof of this is that all international unions today that amount to anything have other benefits attached to them besides strike benefits. In fact, the carpenters' union, with its 250,000 membership, guarantees a death benefit, but no strike benefits. While they pay strike benefits, they guarantee nothing in case of strike. The strike benefit in many international unions is an after consideration, although I am an absolute believer in paying strike benefits, not only what we are paying at present, but a much higher strike benefit, if possible to pay it.

This convention of ours should, in my judgment, establish three separate and distinct funds, and that would mean that it would be necessary to increase the per capita tax to not less than 30 cents. Ten cents should be set aside in a separate fund for mortuary benefits and should not be touched for any other purpose. I believe that this amount will be sufficient for the International Union after it has been established a sufficient number of months to allow us to accumulate a working fund in the International Office; that with this amount we could pay to all members in continuous good standing for one year—men who pay their dues regularly each month—that we could pay a death benefit of \$100.00 to their beneficiaries, and as time goes on and we continue to grow and educate ourselves, we could graduate this amount, if in the judgment and wisdom of our membership it was advisable to do so.

The main thing now is to get started on this proposition and not set it aside on account of individual differences existing in any locality.

Ten cents should be set aside for a defense fund or strike fund, which should never be interfered with for any other purpose, and ten cents set aside for general expenses, such as organizing, paying salaries of officers, office rent, Journal expense, per capita to the American Federation of Labor, and other matters which comprise the general expenses of running an institution such as ours.

This should be done now, and no logical excuse or reason can be given. No matter what your argument is, you, as an officer and delegate to this convention, are duly bound to recognize the fact that you have no right to remain tied to a post; that you are bound to perpetuate and strengthen this International Union by the establishment of those benefits, thereby following in the footsteps of the many successful international unions in our country.

You may think that increasing our per capita tax to 30 cents is an enormous increase, but it is not. Were we to do the proper thing, we would increase our per capita to 50 cents per month. The dues of a local union should not be less than \$1.00 per month. It is an absolute fact that the majority of men working at our craft earn more money year in and year out than does the majority of tradesmen or mechanics, especially those employed in the building trades. I am positive that we earn more money than the membership of the barbers' union, still they pay a per capita tax of 60 cents per member per month to their international union. The membership of the International Typographical Union pay a per capita tax of \$1.40 per month.

I know that we earn more money than the bricklayers and the cigarmakers, because they have their dull seasons and do not have continuous employment, while the per capita tax of the bricklayers is about 50 cents per member per month, and that of the cigarmakers is about \$1.00 per member per month. Undoubtedly you men are now thinking amongst yourselves that it would be an enormous increase should we

raise the per capita to 30 cents a month, but I am positive that the time will come in the history of our organization when our membership will scorn the action of the convention that had not intelligence enough to provide for the future life of the International Union and for the betterment of its general membership. As stated before, there are a few locals, and very few at that, who could take care of themselves for a short time, but the local representative that believes that because his union is in a position to take care of itself and advocates as an argument in opposition to this recommendation that all other unions should do the same, this individual is talking from a selfish standpoint and does not thoroughly understand the broadness of the labor movement. For instance, if one particular local union in Chicago was able to support itself and several of the others were not, after they dwindled down and went out of business, how long do you suppose that one particular union would last? Again, the same is true throughout the entire country. Should one district which is strong continue and the organization go out of business in the many other districts, how long would it be before the National Employers' Association would center their entire opposition in that one particular district and finally drive it out of existence? Our delegates to this convention must look at this question from the broad standpoint, that in order to protect yourself you must protect others—not only individuals, but organizations; and, besides, the fundamental principle of this union of ours is to help our fellow-men throughout the country, that we in turn may be helped and strengthened by them, because we know not the day when it will be our turn to fight.

Last winter we had thousands of men out of work in many sections of the country, and other international unions were paying out-of-work benefits. Their membership is no better than ours. They do not contain within their ranks as high a percentage of Americans as that which comprises our membership. Still, those organizations for the last two winters have been paying out-of-work benefits and other benefits that I have not the time to dwell on here, while we had to refuse to do anything because you, who are the law-makers, will not wake up to the fact that you are bound and sworn to help in the progress of this International Union. If we had attached to our International Union a sick benefit, a death benefit, old age benefits, out-of-work benefits, but especially the death benefit, we would never have in Chicago an organization outside of the International Union such as exists today for this reason: when the International Union issued an order or an edict, local unions would obey same and there would be no threat of secession, as the wives or daughters of the members would see to it that they remained loyal to the International, because in the mortuary benefit would lay the interest of the family.

After every convention we have, in some district or other, a certain amount of dissatisfaction. The first thing the foolish, so-called leader in the district says is, what is the use of continuing to pay our money to Indianapolis, and he can always get an audience, but if we had that man insured for two or three hundred dollars, or even one hundred dollars, his wife or family would see to it that he remained loyal to our International organization. It is foolish to put forth the argument that each local union should take care of the death benefit paid its members. While the International Union does not object to local unions taking care of themselves in that manner, it is impossible for the great rank

and file of our unions to do it, just as it would be impossible for our local unions in every district to take care of their strike benefits. Money paid into the International should be looked upon as an insurance to be held in trust for the local union or the members until such time as it is needed. This is the way that the members of the International Typographical Union, the Cigarmakers' International Union and other international unions look at this question, and this is the way that we, as honest, sincere, thinking individuals must look at it if we ever expect to organize our trade throughout the length and breadth of this Nation and hold them without having secession movements continuously. While the International today, in my judgment, is far ahead of where it ever was before—even better than I ever expected to see it—we are foolish if we try to believe the false doctrine that we are permanent, that we are staple, or that we are solid, or that we can hold the organization together permanently under our present laws and conditions. I might flatter you and say a lot of nice things to you were I desirous of appealing to the side of least resistance, but I have never been anxious to take the easy road. Always, as an individual, have I wanted to go ahead. Now, I want to see this organization live and live right and prosper, and I know that we cannot do it unless we change our present system, and I know that this is the appropriate time; with our organization in a healthy condition, with harmony prevailing in every section of the country. I believe there is not one delegate in this convention who believes that I have any other object in view except to perpetuate and strengthen our International Union.

#### JURISDICTION DISPUTES.

There are many international unions today taking advantage of the new fads that lean toward industrial trade unionism. The last one I have in mind is the Clerks' International Union, who seem to think that they are entitled to the delivery men who drive for the different stores, and every place they have had a chance recently they have admitted to membership the drivers who drive for stores, and especially is this true in small communities and towns. We must stop this and stop it at once. Already we have secured jurisdiction from the American Federation of Labor over the bakery wagon drivers and drivers of laundry wagons, and I want you in your district to see to it that the drivers and chauffeurs working at these two particular industries become members of our organization. Owing to the fact that the clerks' union has been in a very poor condition both numerically and financially for the past six or seven years, I have been rather in sympathy with them and have not been anxious to enter into disagreeable relations with them, such as fighting over a few men here and there, but they have taken advantage of my feelings in this respect and have admitted to membership in their organization drivers whom they had no right whatever to admit. Of course I can take this matter up with the American Federation of Labor in their convention and secure a decision adverse to the clerks, but those decisions are not enforced by the American Federation of Labor for several years and it seems, too, that it would be better for us to take care of it ourselves in each district, which I intend to do in the future. The case of the brewery workers, which of course you understand was before this convention for a number of years, and

before the convention of the American Federation of Labor, has been settled for the time being at least. Whether or not the settlement will be permanent, I cannot say. The American Federation of Labor, in its convention held in Seattle, Wash., in November, 1913, decided against us. They reversed their own decisions. They set aside all precedents established by previous conventions whereby we were given jurisdiction over brewery teamsters and chauffeurs. They threw to the winds all precedents, placing, by their action in this convention in our particular case, their stamp of approval on industrial trade unionism by saying that the brewery workers were entitled to teamsters, although they had decided in the case of all other international unions that all members working at a certain trade, calling or following, such as in the case of the wood workers and plumbers and steamfitters, etc., that they belonged to the organization of their craft and to that organization only. Whereas, in the convention held a year or two prior to the 1913 convention, the convention revoked the charter of the Wood Workers' International Union and the Steamfitters' International Union, saying that there should be but one union of the pipefitting trade and one union of carpenters and wood workers, but in our particular case—that of the teamsters—the convention decided that another international union should have in their membership teamsters, chauffeurs and stablemen. As reported in the columns of our Journal, your delegates made the best fight possible, disputing every inch of ground all the way through, but in view of the fact that the brewery workers had 99 per cent. of the teamsters working in and around the breweries in their organization, and in view of the fact that the brewery workers refused to obey the decisions of the American Federation of Labor rendered in previous conventions, this convention conceded the teamsters to the brewery workers. Were we to follow the policy adopted by other international unions, we also might refuse to obey such an unjust decision—the first of its kind ever rendered by a convention of the American Federation of Labor—but as true trade unionists, I recommend that we be governed by the decision, for the present at least, and abide by it. We entered into an understanding with the officers of the brewery workers, that the brewery drivers now members of our organization should remain there, and they should hold the drivers they have, for the time being, and that in the future they would help us to organize the soft drink drivers throughout the country. There is no question in my mind but what national prohibition will prevail in this country within the next ten years. It looks to me, and I think it will look the same way to the average individual who is interested in the situation, that there will be no brewery drivers over which any misunderstanding can exist in our country within the next few years. The fight that has been made against the Brewery Workers' International Union by the prohibition and temperance parties of the Nation had something to do with the settlement, because the brewery workers are true and loyal trade unionists, and we did not feel like hammering and fighting them during this period when they are being attacked by such powerful enemies. For the time being, at least, this controversy is ended. We contended only for the principle involved, which was serious and threatened to destroy the jurisdiction of our International Union.

There are many other things that I could call to your attention, but as it has been my custom to explain everything of importance transpir-

ing within our organization in the columns of our Journal, month after month, it is not necessary for me to refer in this report to the thousand and one other things that happened in our organization since our last convention.

Summing up the situation, I desire to say, that while I have tried to picture to you or give you some idea of the real condition of our organization, it is not my intention at any time to discourage you or leave any impression on your minds that the organization is not in a healthy condition. In every district throughout the country, with perhaps one exception, we are better off than we were three years ago. I refer to the district of New York. New York, in this convention, has but seven delegates. Our unions there have gone down month after month, due mainly to the fact that there has been considerable unemployment and considerable more misunderstandings between the unions themselves. We have done nothing in New York for the past eight years but revoke charters and issue charters, and it seems to me to be in about as bad condition now as when I first took office in 1907, although we still have three or four very fine local unions in the district. In the Cincinnati convention, in 1904, at which I was a delegate, and which was the first convention held by the International Brotherhood after the amalgamation, New York had twenty-nine delegates in attendance. It is discouraging to think that after eleven years that the district has only six delegates in this convention. However, I am optimistic enough to believe that that district is going through the fire—the fire of purification—and that one of these days it will emerge from the flames purified and more perfect. It has been a hard battle and it has not been pleasant for your organizers or your officers to deal with the district. In New Jersey, which is just across the river from New York, things, in my judgment, are better than they ever were before or than they were three years ago, and there is still hope for the future. This district is not represented here in this convention, I am sorry to say, for what reason I do not know, except the general reason due to the fact that the membership in the district does not seem to realize the importance of gatherings of this kind and the necessity of having each local union represented. The Boston district is better than it ever was in the history of the International. The same is true of Philadelphia, where at our last convention we only had one representative, and today we have nine or ten. Philadelphia is booming, and so is Cincinnati, Cleveland and several other industrial centers, where three years ago we had no membership practically. Taking all of the separate industrial centers into consideration, then considering the industrial condition of our country, we have every reason to rejoice, and especially when you take into consideration the fact that this country is really the only one on the face of the earth that is not being torn to pieces as a result of the awful slaughter of human beings that is now taking place in the fearful war existing in Europe.

I am indeed deeply grateful to the officers of our local unions who have helped during the past three years by keeping their organizations intact by avoiding conflicts that were unnecessary, who have heeded my advice and who have listened to reason. I am grateful to them because they have not only saved their local unions, but have helped the labor movement in general by exercising good, honest judgment. I am well aware of the fact that without the co-operation of those officers it

would be impossible for me, or any other one man, to hold the International together and put it on the road to greater success, where I believe we are eventually going to arrive. I never believed that it would be possible for this International, with its very small revenue—the lowest of any International that I know of—a 15-cent tax—to establish a treasury such as we now possess. Of course it has not been done without a certain amount of care. It is the easiest thing in the world for a local officer or an International officer, even by legitimate methods, to squander the funds of the union entrusted to him. I think you will agree with me, especially you who know the inner workings of the International Office, when I say that we have been just as careful and conscientious with your funds and your moneys, and perhaps more so, than if they were our own personal possessions, and unless a local officer or an International officer possesses that feeling of responsibility and trust, he is not the right kind of a man to handle the funds of your organization. To my mind, if there is anything that should be despised and detested, it is the individual who tampers with the moneys of a local union. I have no hesitancy in saying that I think our union is as clean an institution as the country possesses and that the great rank and file of those who handle our money are honest, conscientious and honorable, but I also have no hesitancy in saying we have had, and perhaps still have a few who do not feel this responsibility and who unfortunately misappropriate the funds entrusted to them. If it were only the loss of the funds, it would not be so bad, but it is the confidence of the rank and file of the membership that is destroyed. This is what does the damage, and this is what brings disgrace upon the union. So I say to you, watch well your funds, both locally and Internationally, and the watching will not be wasted.

I want to thank the officers or members of the General Executive Board for their assistance to me during the three years. When I consider what I have had to go through and what I have suffered with other Executive Boards in the past and then understand the kind of men I have had to work with me on the Board for the past three years, I cannot find words to express my feelings. Harmony prevailed. We did disagree on many questions, but we disagreed like men—honestly—each trying to solve the question by trying to find out which would be the best thing for the rank and file of our membership. I thank those men because they were sincere and honest, because I know how it is to have to work with men who were not that way in the past. I also want to thank our organizers. Every man has rendered a splendid account of himself. We have demanded his best, and he has given it to us freely. We have made but very few changes. We have tried to keep down the expense as much as possible and we have endeavored to help our unions as much as we could, at the same time understanding that our limited revenue did not warrant our putting on an army of organizers, which would be necessary in order to comply with the wishes and requests of the many local unions throughout the country.

This convention will undoubtedly mark the most eventful period in our history. This convention will mean that we will either go forward or backward. This convention will mean that we will either change our present policies or we are bound to deteriorate. This convention, in my judgment, will have to develop new methods for dealing with the many problems that arise within our International Union. Our consti-

tution should be amended, and you men must give each section of that constitution your careful and individual thought. The finances of our International are growing, and I am in hopes they will continue to grow, and some provision should be made for the proper investment or depositing of said funds as we go on, and as time rolls on changes are liable to take place. I never thought that I would see the day when I would preside over your convention and be able to say that we have over \$200,000.00 in our treasury, but that day has arrived and still I am not satisfied, because on a membership of 50,000 this means only \$4.00 per member per capita—not much with which to enter into a serious conflict with the enemies of labor; and while it seems an enormous sum, in me it only creates a burning desire to increase it still more. Our International Union should have a defense fund of not less than one million dollars, and it will have such a fund some day, perhaps not in your time or mine, but it is bound to come as education advances and spreads, and it will be needed—that fund—every dollar of it—to fight the fight that I think is in store not alone for our International Union, but for others. Any man, prominent in the labor movement, who does not realize that it is impossible for unions to go on year after year endeavoring or expecting to obtain an increase in wages and shortening of working hours, is not awake to the real situation. I never want to see, and I believe I never will see, men and women workers thoroughly satisfied. Discontent is the breeder of ambition. Ambition arises as a result of the unsatisfied cravings of human beings and spurs them on to still greater achievements. I am, however, positive in saying that there are certain districts in our country now where the craft is obtaining as much as the industry can afford to pay. I know that there are other international unions that have reached the limit for the time being in so far as wages and hours are concerned, but whose membership are still unsatisfied, and this is what is going to bring about the crash. I say to you delegates that there are two sides to this question, and there are some districts, not many of course, where the industry is paying as much as it can afford to pay, and the officer or individual who is afraid to say this because he will be censured as siding in with the employer is the man who will be responsible for the inauguration of this conflict that I see coming to some unions now presumably prosperous. So as time rolls on it behooves you to continue to prepare and be mindful of the results. The union is not organized for today, or tomorrow, or the day after. The child yet unborn is to benefit to a certain extent by the struggles that you are undergoing, but as all men during all time have had to undergo struggles of a similar nature, we too must face the battle, not turn our backs on the conflict, so that we may insure ourselves and our families for the future. Life, after all, is nothing more than one continual struggle, in which those who refuse to take part must fall by the wayside. The union that is not up and doing is bound to be chopped to pieces. Therefore, you and I, here assembled in this convention, are charged with the responsibility of guarding well the interests of our International organization, and to do this we must set personal and individual feelings aside so that we may reach a solution of the many problems that will mean the betterment of our individual membership.

Respectfully submitted,

DANIEL T. TOBIN, General President.

# CORRESPONDENCE



## KANSAS CITY, MO.

Mr. Thos. L. Hughes, Indianapolis,  
Ind.:

Dear Sir and Brother—Inclosed please find report of Frank P. Walsh in the Kansas City Star. You can readily see his findings are just what Brother Tobin has been advocating in the Journal right along. It seems to have taken a long time for the press to bring things to light, but nevertheless here it is. I send you this note as I am almost sure it won't appear in an Associated Press dispatch anywhere, as he is quoted in an interview with a reporter. Also, he hails from Kansas City and the best union man's friend here. Thanking you for your time, I am,

Yours fraternally,  
TONY S. FASHING,  
President of Local 335.

Amazing admissions of bribery of courts and legislatures, conspiracy, the exploitation of women and children, the employment of gunmen, the suppression of free speech and of the commission of other social crimes against labor are made in that part of the report to Congress framed by the employers' representatives on the United States Commission on Industrial Relations, according to Frank P. Walsh, chairman of the commission, who returned yesterday from Chicago.

The reports—of which there are three—were signed by the dissenting groups of the commission yesterday and now are in the hands of the printers. The first intimation of the contents of the employers' report signed by Harris Weinstock, Richard H. Aishton and S. Thurston Ballard was made by Mr. Walsh on his arrival.

"The revelations in the Wein-

stock report," Mr. Walsh said, "will come as a shock to that employing class that has been busy denouncing the advance summary of the main report of the commission, signed by myself and three other members of the commission, as a pro-labor finding. As a matter of fact, every admission—or confession—contained in the report of the representatives of employers was based on the findings of the staff of investigators upon which the main report is based, and these admissions and confessions support in every particular the findings which, in the main report, were hailed in New York as radical and sensational labor propaganda."

## —Rated as Millionaires—

The three men who signed the report are rated as millionaires, all employers of labor. Weinstock is a retired department store manager from the Pacific coast. Ballard is the biggest flour miller in the South and lives in Louisville. Aishton is vice-president of the Chicago North Western Railroad. The charges against employers made by these employers' representatives on the commission follow:

"That they have resorted to questionable methods to prevent their workers from organizing.

"That they have attempted to defeat democracy by more or less successfully controlling courts and legislatures.

"That they have exploited women and children and unorganized workers.

"That they have resorted to all sorts of methods to prevent the enactment of remedial legislation.

"That they have employed gunmen in strikes who were disreputable characters and who as-

saulted innocent people and committed other crimes most reprehensible in character.

"That they have paid lower wages than competitive conditions warranted.

—Upholds the Right to Strike—

"That they have worked their people long hours and under insanitary and dangerous conditions.

"That they have exploited prison labor at the expense of free labor.

"That they have been contract breakers with labor.

"That they have attempted, through the authorities, to suppress free speech and the right of peaceful assembly.

"That they have deliberately, and for selfish ends, bribed representatives of labor.

"And that all of these things tend to produce industrial unrest, with all its consequent and far-reaching ills.

"We feel, with organized labor, that there should be no restriction put upon the right to strike, realizing as we do, that the strike is the only weapon which, in the interest of labor, can be effectively and legally used to aid in bettering its conditions."

—Boycotts are Moral and Legal—

To these confessions of the methods that have been employed against labor these representatives of the employing class add the following remarkable admissions:

"When labor is effectively organized it has two most powerful weapons at its command that the employer, as a rule, dreads and fears because of the great damage these weapons can inflict on him, namely, the strike and the primary boycott, both of which are within the moral and legal rights of the worker to use.

"We say frankly that if we were wage earners we would be unionists, and as unionists we would feel the keen responsibility of giving

the same attention to our trade union duties as to our civic duties."

—Large Inheritance Tax Favored—

"It must be remembered," Mr. Walsh said, "that these admissions are made after an investigation that has continued two years, an investigation in which more than fifty expert investigators were constantly employed, and that, as made, the findings are in every essential the same as those contained in the main report of the chairman and the three members who signed it with him. Mr. Weinstock has given out a statement in New York in which the impression is conveyed that the commission is split on its findings, and that the three reports are irreconcilable. I think it will be sufficiently shown by the Weinstock report itself that the commission is together except as to certain large social features such as the inheritance tax, state ownership of coal mines and state and municipal ownership of public utilities.

"The commission even is unanimous on the necessity of a large inheritance tax, the proceeds of which shall be devoted to social and industrial uses, although the reports reflect a difference of opinion as to how the tax schedules should be arranged. The main report would practically abolish swollen fortunes, by taxing any fortune above a million dollars out of existence. Its schedule would prohibit a wife from inheriting more than a million dollars, a husband more than \$500,000 and a child more than \$100,000. This, of course, is on the theory that none should enjoy a great fortune who has not rendered a service in return."

—"Open Shop" a Fallacy—

Another agreement, quite as remarkable, on which the dissenting groups of the commission meet, is to the fact, as developed by the in-

vestigation, that there is no such thing in the United States as an open shop.

"There are union shops and non-union shops, the reports find," Mr. Walsh said, "but there is no open shop in the sense that has so long been sought to be proved by the big employers of labor. In every case, it was shown, the workingman had to conform to the hours and conditions of employment, no matter what the shop was called. There were ways of making him. In Colorado, for instance, he could be taken up the canyon and hit over the head with a gun."

The three reports of the commission will be made to Congress at its coming session in December. They consist of the main report, based on the findings of fact by Basil M. Manly, director of the research and investigation division of the commission and signed by Chairman Walsh, A. B. Garretson, James O. O'Connell and John B. Lennon; the employers' report, based on the same findings of fact and signed by Weinstock, Ballard and Aishton, and the Commons-Harriman report, signed by Professor Commons and Mrs. Borden Harriman. The latter report deals wholly with the administration of labor laws and advocates a permanent commission for the purpose—a plan which, in Mr. Walsh's opinion, would mean an industrial paternalism in this country.

#### DES MOINES, IOWA

Daniel J. Tobin, Indianapolis, Ind.:

Dear Sir and Brother—I will write you a few lines to let you know that Local No. 90 still exists and is struggling to get along.

We are slowly increasing our membership since we had our strike in 1912.

We have gotten four of the boys out of the pen that were sent there for spite by the Business Men's League, thinking that they could break up our local, but they did

not succeed, for we got the boys out before their time was up and since then we have paid all of the court costs and are now getting along so that we are not afraid to drive up the street for fear someone will stop us and ask us for a bill that is due them and won't have the money to pay them.

We do not get the support that we should, from the other locals, for the carpenters take lumber from a non-union driver and other crafts will do the same, so you see we have to fight our own way to get through, but we are going to do it or die in the attempt.

The transfer drivers are the main support, for the city drivers are union because they have to be to get to work, but some of them are union and some of them are only card men; that is, just so they can hold a job, but the local would be better off without such men for they are no good to the union or to themselves either.

We have passed a resolution in our central body that any delegate not having five union-made garments on would be unseated as a delegate, and it hit some of them pretty hard because it is quite hard to get them to live up to it.

Fraternally yours,  
J. C. McFADDEN,  
Secretary Local No. 90.

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#### MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Mr. D. J. Tobin, Indianapolis, Ind.:

Dear Sir and Brother—I am glad to inform you that Local 471, the Milk Wagon Drivers of Minneapolis, has gotten another increase for its members. We have just signed up a two-year agreement with the seven largest creameries of the city, and expect to have some of the smaller ones to follow suit in the near future.

Although times are not the best, we got an increase of \$5 per month for our members, and also two more holidays a year. And probably the best of it is that we got

this by using peaceful arguments, and not by force. To a certain extent we have the employers with us, for the simple reason that a uniform scale of wages, hours and working conditions leave them all, as competitors, on the same base.

We have just had a striking example of what unorganized workers have to contend with in our line of work, in our sister city of St. Paul, just across the Mississippi river. About three years ago, at the same time as Local 471 was organized, the milk wagon drivers of St. Paul organized. Everything went fine for six months. Then the local decided that it was old enough and strong enough to get almost the earth, with a fence around it. It sent for a copy of the Chicago milk wagon drivers' scale, copied that and went to the employers. The employers looked at it and found it meant an increase of about \$30 per month or \$1 per day for every driver, and they said an increase of that sort was impossible. But they were willing to negotiate with the union. No, the men wanted all or nothing and they got nothing. Six months thereafter there was no such thing as a milk wagon drivers' union in St. Paul. But twice since then the milk wagon drivers of St. Paul have received a cut in wages of \$5 per month. They are now working for \$50 and \$55 per month and no vacation, while the men doing the same kind of work across the river are getting \$75 per month, and two weeks' vacation. I mention this because it may be of benefit to newly organized locals.

With best wishes for yourself and our International, I remain,

Fraternally yours,  
EDW. SOLEM, Sec. No. 471.

#### NEWARK, N. J.

Mr. D. J. Tobin, Indianapolis, Ind.:

Dear Sir and Brother—I have just secured an agreement cover-

ing every brick yard on our river front, namely, Cook and Genung Company, Builders' Material Supply Company, David Harper and Tompkins Brothers, all of whom employ directly in their own barns over seventy-five teamsters and chauffeurs.

Under this agreement the men obtain \$1.50 increase, to take effect September 1 and \$1.50 more, to take effect next April, recognition of the union and a strict ten-hour day and no work on Sundays or holidays. Two of these firms' men have been wearing our buttons for some months, the other two coming in this week and the whole matter has been brought about without any strife or ill feeling being aroused. The firms are satisfied they have been properly treated and I feel as if they have given us a fair deal on their first agreement. Of course, there are several other firms and individuals in this same line, but these are the big ones and with them in I don't anticipate we will have any trouble with the small fellows, for if the large ones agree the small ones won't fight and if they did it would only mean loss of business to them as we have the Building Trades Council behind us.

Now, Brother Tobin, if you think this worth while I would be glad to see it in our Magazine as I believe all of our sister locals would be glad to hear of some of the little successes we meet with in Newark, N. J., and as there has been no strike or any other trouble on this affair it may lead some of our men who would be hasty and perhaps become involved in trouble to have a little patience as I find the best results are obtained diplomatically.

With best wishes for all brothers of the I. B. of T., C. S. and H. of A. Fraternally yours,

J. McGuire,  
Business Agt., Local No. 487.

Number of members in October, 1907, - - - -	29,411
Amount of money in Treasury, October, 1907, - -	\$6,562.34
Number of members August 31, 1915, - - - -	56,308
Amount of money in Treasury Aug. 31, 1915, \$211,223.52	

In the middle of the year 1907 the International Union was unable to pay strike benefits in the case of several strikes that were approved by the General Executive Board, among which were Local No. 25, of Boston, and the Carriage Drivers of Toronto, Canada. The International Union had no money with which to pay these unions strike benefits.

Since October, 1907, the International Union has at all times paid the full amount of strike benefits to all local unions involved in strike, where said strike was approved by the International Executive Board.

Official Magazine  
of the  
International Brotherhood  
of Teamsters, Chauffeurs  
Stablemen and Helpers  
of America

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THOMAS L. HUGHES, Secretary

222 East Michigan Street

Indianapolis, Indiana